CHAPTER 7

Ice Cream

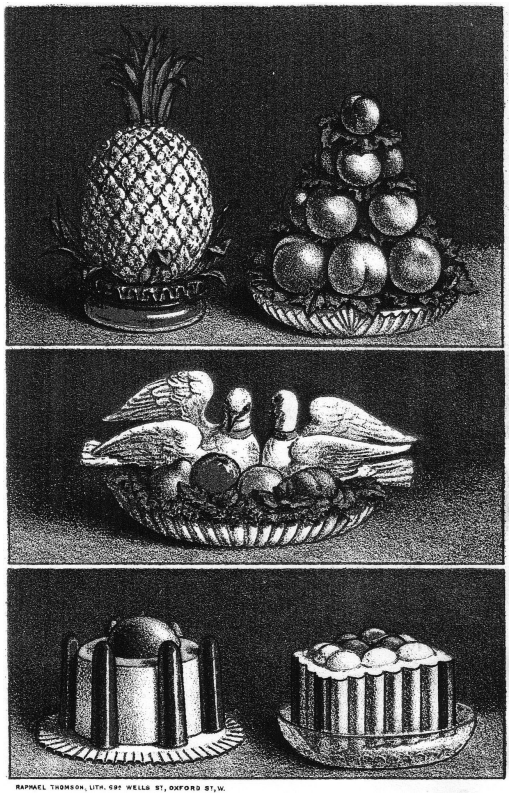


Figure 7.1. A collection of highly decorative Victorian ice or jelly moulds from Agnes Marshall's 'Book of Ices' (Bodleian: 1781 f.8, p. 59).

Ice cream has a remarkably long history, as Elizabeth David's book, *Harvest of the Cold Months,* has made wonderfully plain.[307] Her mouth-watering accounts of Neapolitan ice recipes form a stark reminder of

307 E. David, *Harvest of the Cold Months: The Social History of Ice and Ices* (London, 1996).

the dullness of many of the confections that today pass off as ice cream under the auspices of corporate machino-manufacture. In Britain, Victorian and Edwardian chefs produced their own mouth-watering ices, as Elizabeth David also recounts, and a perusal of some of the more popular cookery and confectionary books of the time affords an equally vivid picture of what some gastronomes might conceive of as a kind of ice cream heaven. Agnes Marshall's *Book of Ices* describes the making of banana ice: peel and pound six ripe bananas, add the juice of two oranges and two lemons, a glass of curacoa, pass through a sieve and finish with a pint of sweetened cream or custard, before finally freezing.[308] The making of water ices was equally enticing: for apple water ice, you cooked a pound of apples in a pint of water with a little lemon peel, lemon juice, cinnamon, four ounces of sugar and some sheets of gelatine. The purée was then sieved, mixed with a pint of water sweetened with sugar or syrup, before finally being frozen.[309] What is especially striking about so many books and accounts of ice cream making at the time is the startling range of flavours that were accommodated. It is not just the vast range of fruits that draw the eye, but flavours like tea, coffee, chocolate, ginger, champagne, rum, brown bread, not to mention all kinds of nuts. Brown bread ice, according to *The Pytchley Book of Refined Cookery*, consisted of half a pound of stale brown bread crumbs mixed with a pint of whipped cream, six ounces of sugar and flavoured with vanilla essence.[310]

All of these ice and ice cream confections plainly called for large quantities of ice for the freezing process. At one time, as recounted earlier, local lakes and ponds, and, later, canal cuts and dock basins, had provided the major source, especially where confectioners had ice-wells where they could store the broken ice for later use. In 1868, a leading article in *The Times* reckoned that nine-tenths of the ice then consumed by fishmongers and confectioners came from such local sources whenever there was a hard frost.[311] However, in the later decades of the nineteenth century,

308 A.B. Marshall, *The Book of Ices* (London, 1885), p. 10.
309 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
310 *The Pytchley Book of Refined Cookery and Bills of Fare* (London, 1885), p. 227.
311 *The Times*, 11th September 1868.

confectioners and others also started utilizing increasing quantities of imported ice. Initially this was American ice, but later it was obtained almost exclusively from Norway. From Samuel Hobbs's monthly *Kitchen Oracle* we get some sense of the prodigious amounts that might be needed from ice merchants. Menus for 16–18 people called for one hundredweight of Wenham Lake Ice (from Norway).[312] One daily menu list stipulated half a hundredweight on the second day, another half on the third, and a full hundredweight on the fourth.[313] Hobbs was plainly writing with a large upper-class household in mind, but Humphry's *Housekeeping, a Guide* made clear that delicious ices could be made in middle-class homes by investing in the necessary freezing and ice-breaking apparatus and then buying ice wholesale from the fishmonger. It was then seven pence for fourteen pounds of ice and it paid to buy larger quantities. Smaller quantities were proportionately much dearer and did not last as long.[314] In 1899, the trade magazine *British Refrigeration and Allied Interests* remarked on the hordes of Italian ice-cream and iced-drink vendors who overran London in the summer season. They consumed enormous quantities of ice, one leading Italian confectioner taking up to 120 tons a week. In this particular case, it was ice from the Shadwell ice factory by the Thames, but such ice came just as often from the many stores of Norwegian ice in the capital.[315]

London's most famous ice cream maker throughout the nineteenth century was Gunter's on Berkeley Square.[316] The establishment had existed since the mid-eighteenth century and members of the Gunter family had been running it since at least 1800. Gunter's easily dominated the other confectioners and caterers in the capital in the making of ices, helped by the royal patronage that they attracted, particularly from among George III's sons and daughters. However, what also helped to set the seal on Gunter's reputation was when Robert Gunter went to Paris shortly after the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 to learn the art of ice-making the

312 S.W. Hobbs, *The Kitchen Oracle* (July, 1886), p. 290.
313 *Ibid.*, (August, 1886), p. 335.
314 C.E. Humphreys, *Housekeeping, a Guide* (London, 1893), p. 278.
315 *British Refrigeration and Allied Interests* I (1899), p. 14.
316 See E. David, *op. cit.*, pp. 315ff.

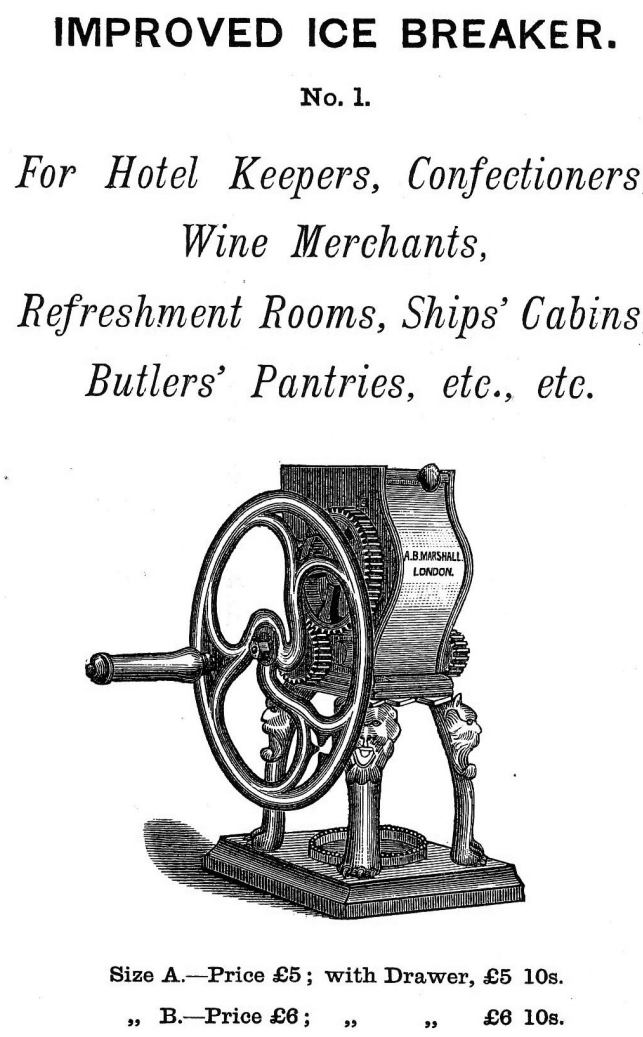


Figure 7.2. A machine for crushing ice as used by Victorian and Edwardian confectioners (Bodleian: 1781 f.8, p. 59).

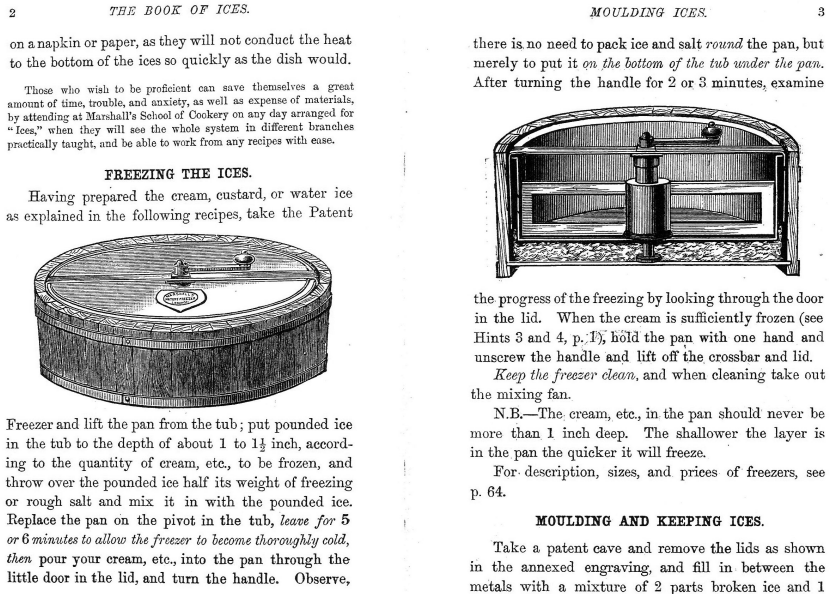
Italian way at Tortoni's in the Boulevard des Italiens. Prior to that time, some gourmets had regarded English ices, both cream ices and water ices, as inferior to continental confections. Gunter, with the experience gained at Tortoni's, soon rectified that and turned the Berkeley Square shop into a legend. The firm's recipes were committed to print in *Gunter's Modern Confectionery* which had reached a fourth edition by 1881. The shop endured for more than a century. And Elizabeth David, in *Harvest*

of the Cold Months, recalls eating Gunter's famous tangerine and strawberry ices herself in the years after the First World War.[317]

Among the early confectioners at Gunter's was an Italian by the name of Guglielmo Jarrin. His recipe book, *The Italian Confectioner*, was first published in 1820 and was still being reprinted in 1861, becoming a classic guide for many more years. Jarrin set out for his readers the way to produce the highest quality cream and water ices. The nature of the quality of the ingredients was obviously part of the trick and, at Gunter's, much of the fruit came from the firm's own nursery gardens in Earl's Court, Kensington, then still a mere village.[318] For winter, fruits were preserved according to a recipe devised by the Parisian confectioner Appert, a method that did not require the use of sugar. After the ingredients, it was the freezing method that was critical to the making of the best ices.[319] If freezing occurred too quickly, there was inadequate time for the ingredients to be mixed properly. Pewter freezing pots were best for this. Tin vessels produced too rapid a 'congelation'. Badly mixed ingredients resulted in the sugar sinking to the bottom and produced ices with a sharp unpleasant taste. Poor mixing and inadequate rotation of the freezing pan in the ice mixture also gave rise to lumps. A related defect was the way ices could acquire a 'disagreeable, dirty red colour'. The effectiveness of the freezing mixture was contingent upon adding to it the right quantities of salt, nitre or soda. Agnes Marshall, in her *Book of Ices,* expanded upon the kinds of quantity that this involved. Generally it was advisable to throw over the pounded ice in the ice tub roughly half its weight in salt, before mixing thoroughly. Marshall in fact had patented a freezing apparatus for the making of ices. The pan intended for the cream ice ingredients was first removed and a layer of ice placed in the empty tub to a depth of one or one and a half inches, in turn mixed with the appropriate quantity of salt. The empty pan was then replaced on its central pivot, the lid closed and the apparatus left for a few minutes to become thoroughly cold. The lid was then re-opened and the ingredients poured into the pan, but not to a depth of much more than one inch, for

317 *Ibid.*, p. 351.
318 *Ibid.*, pp. 321–2.
319 See W.A. Jarrin, *The Italian Confectioner* (London, 1861), p. 160.

the shallower the mixture the easier it froze. The freezer handle was then rotated until, upon inspection, the mixture had attained the right consistency and flavour. If it was not sweet enough, a little syrup, such as kirsch, could be added.



2 THE BOOK OF ICES.

on a napkin or paper, as they will not conduct the heat to the bottom of the ices so quickly as the dish would.

Those who wish to be proficient can save themselves a great amount of time, trouble, and anxiety, as well as expense of materials, by attending at Marshall's School of Cookery on any day arranged for "Ices," when they will see the whole system in different branches practically taught, and be able to work from any recipes with ease.

FREEZING THE ICES.

Having prepared the cream, custard, or water ice as explained in the following recipes, take the Patent

Freezer and lift the pan from the tub; put pounded ice in the tub to the depth of about 1 to 1½ inch, according to the quantity of cream, etc., to be frozen, and throw over the pounded ice half its weight of freezing or rough salt and mix it in with the pounded ice. Replace the pan on the pivot in the tub, *leave for* 5 *or* 6 *minutes to allow the freezer to become thoroughly cold, then* pour your cream, etc., into the pan through the little door in the lid, and turn the handle. Observe,

MOULDING ICES. 3

there is no need to pack ice and salt *round* the pan, but merely to put it *on the bottom of the tub under the pan.* After turning the handle for 2 or 3 minutes, examine

the progress of the freezing by looking through the door in the lid. When the cream is sufficiently frozen (see Hints 3 and 4, p. 1), hold the pan with one hand and unscrew the handle and lift off the crossbar and lid.

Keep the freezer clean, and when cleaning take out the mixing fan.

N.B.—The cream, etc., in the pan should never be more than 1 inch deep. The shallower the layer is in the pan the quicker it will freeze.

For description, sizes, and prices of freezers, see p. 64.

MOULDING AND KEEPING ICES.

Take a patent cave and remove the lids as shown in the annexed engraving, and fill in between the metals with a mixture of 2 parts broken ice and 1

Figure 7.3. The patent freezer apparatus from Marshall's 'Book of Ices' (Bodleian: Vet A7 e.25, pp. 2–3).

For decorative ices, the frozen mixture would be scooped out of the pan and placed in the chosen mould and the mould in turn placed back on the ice mixture, with further ice and salt piled around and over it to a depth of six inches. According to *The Pytchley Book of Refined Cookery*, ices in moulds had to be overfrozen in order to retain their shape.[320] The tendency, therefore, was to remove them from the ice tub only a little while before serving. Such moulds, which were also often used for jellies, came in an astonishing array of shapes and sizes. Samuel Hobbs's *Kitchen Oracle* illustrated some of them.[321] The best were fashioned to the shape of the fruit or fruits that flavoured the ice cream inside them. They could

320 The Pytchley Book, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

321 S. W. Hobbs, *op. cit.*, (January, 1886), p. 45.

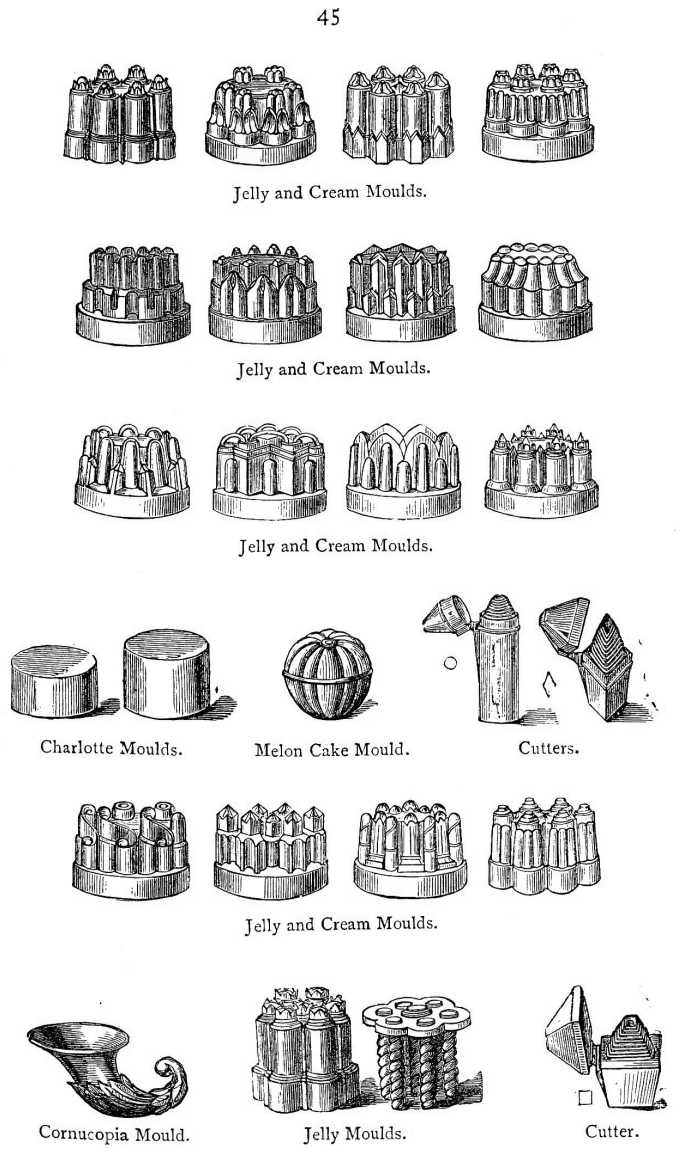


Figure 7.4. Victorian ice and jelly moulds from Hobbs's 'Kitchen Oracle' (Bodleian: 1781 e.351, p. 45).

also be surprisingly large, particularly when meant for use on grand occasions. These so-called 'bombes' or 'bomba' could contain as much as six pints of cream ice. Many were made with large numbers of egg yolks mixed with cream, lemon peel and sugar before being flavoured with fruit and sometimes also coloured. The egg yolks, cream and peel had

first to be prepared over a slow fire and constantly whisked so as to form a custard. The sugar, fruit and colouring were then added and the entire confection finally transferred to the freezing apparatus.[322] It is not at all hard to see how such complex confections sometimes called for ice by the hundredweight to be available to hand. This could be met by confectioners having their own ice cellars or, better still, an ice well, much like the one at Carlo Gatti's premises on the Caledonian Road in Islington. But as the trade in imported Norwegian ice grew, and as artificial ice production expanded, particularly in the largest cities, it was more and more the big ice merchants that provided the storage, delivering ice to confectioners often several times a day in the ice cream season.

The ice trade's premier journal, the *Cold Storage and Ice Trades Review*, was very quick to notice the potential that ice cream making offered to ice merchants seeking extension of their businesses. Within six months of its first issue, it contained almost an entire page devoted to the tools and utensils needed for 'iced drinks, iced puddings and iced creams', along with appropriate recipes.[323] Its *Ice Pudding à la Princesse*, was made with a quart of fresh milk, half a pint of sweetened cream, three-quarters of a pound of granulated sugar, three-quarters of a pound of almonds, four ounces of crystallized angelica, four ounces of preserved cherries, two ounces of sultanas, two ounces of crystallized apricots, one pound of egg yolks and two wine glasses of maraschino. The ingredients, once mixed, strained and frozen, were enough to fill four moulds selling at 3/6d each. The same journal also commented on the growing practice of including ices as part of dinner menus. Whereas such offerings would once have been regarded as gastronomic heresies, diners preferring cheesecake or soufflés, increasingly they were becoming *de rigeur*. In the best restaurant establishments, the ices were served on sculptures in the shape of swans and elephants.[324] Such creations were fashioned by chefs from blocks of the finest Norwegian crystal ice. Hot smoothing-irons were used to give the final finish and polish. *Socle en glace*, as the technique was called, required great care and dexterity. If the ice cracked

322 See W.A. Jarrin, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
323 *Cold Storage and Ice Trades Review* I (1898), p. 62.
324 *Ibid.*, IV (1901), p. 196.

or the chef made an error, the entire process had to be started all over again. The annual dinner of the Cold Storage Association in 1901 had an ice model as a table centre, illuminated by means of electric light.[325] Creations of this sort cost £3 to £5.

Ice cream manufacture was not, of course, confined only to the cities. The business had also been growing apace in many coastal resorts. The Devon and Cornwall Ice and Cold Storage Company at Plymouth relied heavily on the summer demand for ice from local confectioners to bolster the economic viability of its ice plant. The nearby resort of Torquay, for instance, was regularly supplied with ice for this purpose. Moreover, this was alongside the activities of another Plymouth ice merchant who dealt exclusively in imported Norwegian ice.[326]

Until the mid-nineteenth century, most ices, whether cream, custard, or water-based, were a luxury confection. They were the foods of peers and princes, the fare of the best clubs and eating houses. Ices for the ordinary populace were largely unknown. It was the Italian-speaking Swiss family, the Gattis, as we have seen, who can lay claim to having introduced ices to the man on the street. Carlo Gatti and members of his extended family came to England from the canton of Ticino, from the Val Blegno, and followed in the tradition of the Ticinese in seeking their fortunes overseas. It was from Gatti's pastry and confectioner's business in the Great Hall of Hungerford Market in London in the early 1850s that 'penny ices' were first sold, and they became so popular that they were soon being sold on the streets from mobile ice-cream carts. They became known as 'hokey-pokeys', supposedly a corruption of the Italian 'ecco un poco', meaning 'here is a little'. When Hungerford Market was pulled down to make way for the building of Charing Cross station, the Gatti family relocated the business to the Adelaide Gallery, then a place of entertainment and occasional exhibitions. Stefano and Agostino eventually succeeded to this concern and expanded it by extending the premises through to the Strand. Soon the Gatti brothers had become refreshment contractors to a number of theatres and other places of entertainment.

325 *Ibid.*
326 *Ibid.*, III (1900), p. 137.

And, in due course, they bought the Adelphi Theatre (in 1879), launching their position in the theatrical world as managers, a position they subsequently pursued with remarkable success.[327]

In London, it is plain that the common trade in penny ices, particularly on the streets, grew in leaps and bounds in the later decades of the nineteenth century. In the Holborn area, it was Carlo Gatti, as ice merchant, who supplied the street traders with ice to make their product. According to a report for the London County Council in 1899, there were by then some 300 Italian 'ice labourers' living and working in the capital.[328] Moreover, by the 1890s, this part of the ice cream trade had grown so large that it was starting to attract the attentions of borough medical officers of health. In October 1898, for instance, *The Times* reported on a case of an Italian ice-cream vendor in Bermondsey who had been summonsed for selling ice cream that appeared to have been made from decomposing milk. Reputedly, analysis had revealed that each cubic centimetre of ice contained a million microbes.[329] In 1899, the Medical Officer of Health for Paddington recommended to his local vestry that the premises where street vendors made their ices needed regular inspection.[330] And the same vigilance was shortly being pressed by his counterpart in the City.[331] Their concerns arose from a steady accumulation of cases of people being poisoned by ices sold on the streets from carts and barrows. The members of London's Italian community that dominated the capital's penny ice trade by this time came mainly from the poor Italian colony at Saffron Hill, an area of desperately crowded, run-down tenements that had earlier in the century given Charles Dickens the inspiration for Fagin's den in *Oliver Twist*. A report for the medical journal, the *Lancet,* as early as 1879, had described finding milk, eggs and cornflour mixtures used to make penny ices 'standing in the foulest dens, where they must absorb noxious gases'. The same writer

327 For a detailed history of the family business, see F. Kinross, *Coffee and Ices: The Story of Carlo Gatti in London* (Sudbury, 1991); see also the obituary notice of Agostino Gatti in *The Times*, 15th January 1897; also E. David, *op. cit.*, pp. 347–50.

328 *Cold Storage and Ice Trades Review* I (1899), p. 134.

329 *The Times*, 13th October 1898.

330 *Ibid.*, 16th August 1899.

331 *Ibid.*, 5th September 1902.

found ingredients being mixed in the same saucepans and cauldrons used to wash dirty linen.[332] In 1885, *The Times* gave an account of the detaining by the authorities of an Italian ice cream vendor in Lambeth Walk. It emerged that a whole variety of people had succumbed to severe vomiting after consuming ices bought from his barrow. When the case came before the local court, the magistrate was at a loss to know what to charge the vendor with and hence the man was released.[333] In another case heard at Greenwich in March 1901, it was alleged that an Italian ice cream vendor had been making ices with bad eggs. The Town Clerk of Deptford, in prosecution, was very concerned to identify the individual who, he claimed, caused all the stomach disease in his district. He remarked how a great deal of mischief was done with 'dirty ice cream'.[334] Cities outside London were in no way immune from the phenomenon either. In 1905, in Birmingham, some 200 cases of poisoning attributable to ice cream sold from a street vendor's barrow came to light. Chemical analysis established that the cause was probably the result of contamination with arsenic and antinomy, presumably occurring at some stage in manufacture.[335]

What all these different incidents and reports highlighted was the desperate need for some kind of local authority supervision and control. And by 1900, a number of cities around the country (though not London at the time) were acting to bring the sale of ices on the same footing as the sale of milk.

In Liverpool, in the year following the passing of the Liverpool Corporation Act of 1898, over 300 people had applied for permission to sell ice cream under the Act's provisions and inspectors had closed down 56 premises as being a threat to public health. Altogether the inspectors made 1600 visits in the city, resulting in two court convictions. In one of these cases, the presiding magistrate suggested that the defendant be made to live on his own ice cream for a time.[336] Within a few years, Glasgow

332 A summary account was provided in *The Times*, 20th October 1879.
333 *Ibid.*, 9th June 1885.
334 *Ibid.*, 30th March 1901.
335 *Ibid.*, 18th and 19th July 1905.
336 See the account in *The Times*, 2nd September 1899.

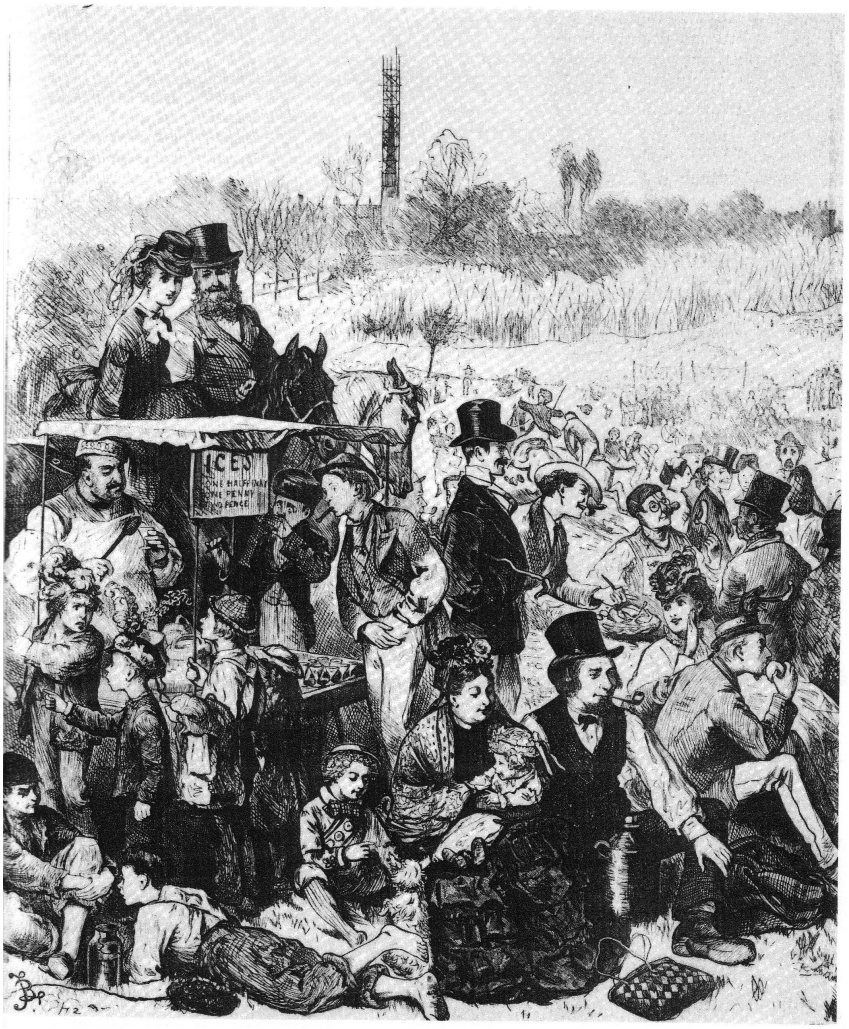


Figure 7.5. A busy ice cream stall on Hampstead Heath as depicted for the *Illustrated London News* in 1872 (*Illustrated London News LV*, May 1872, p. 12).

Corporation followed the example of Liverpool where, according to an account of August 1905, the number of ice cream vendors had doubled in just one year, more than justifying regulation in terms of public health.[337] At about the same time, Aberdeen was reported to have at least 700 ice cream shops within its burgh. And at premier seaside resorts, ice vending in the summer months seemed by then to know few bounds judging from

337 *Cold Storage and Ice Trades Review* VIII (1905), p. 234.

the inflated sums that individual vendors were prepared to pay for stands or stalls adjacent to the beaches. Some local councils resorted to letting such sites by auction, in the process trebling or quadrupling the sums they had received in earlier years by means of private tender.[338]

In Hull in 1908, the local medical officer of health came across a rather different problem. It had come to his notice that ice cream makers were using old fish salt and old ice previously used in packing and storing fish in the port. This he viewed as a potential hazard to public health, notwithstanding the fact that the ice cream mixture should never have come into direct contact with the freezing mixture.

In the worst cases of ice cream contamination, typhus fever had been reported. In October 1900, for instance, the Medical Officer of Health in Newington in London had come across 16 cases of typhus in just a five-week period, all appearing to have been connected to ice cream obtained from street barrows.[339] Some medical officers were also at pains to point out that the better class of ice cream makers were not necessarily immune from contamination. Street vendors often boiled their ingredients prior to freezing, thus reducing the likelihood of micro-organisms being present in their ices. In the better establishments, the principal ingredients were cream, fruit and sugar which were not treated in the same way. The fruit might be cooked, but not the entire ingredients. In this case, the cream was a potential source of contamination.[340]

The size of the Italian community in Britain involved in the ice cream trade and in selling ice on the streets, in particular, attracted official interest and oversight for reasons other than contamination. In the first place, many Italian 'colonies' were extremely poor, and this applied not just in London but in provincial cities as well. Many poor young Italians were being brought to Britain to work in the ice cream and related trades, but on very low or even no wages. In the early 1890s, a case before Brompton County Court highlighted the measure of exploitation that some of these immigrants faced. A young Italian immigrant vendor, working for a local Italian ice cream merchant, had suffered starvation wages and been made

338 *Ibid.*
339 *The Times*, 11th October 1900.
340 *Ibid.*, 16th August 1899.

to go out on the street in rags, despite an agreement made by his employer that he would be lodged, boarded and clothed.[341] In 1902, Parliament debated the destitute condition of many recently-arrived aliens, with the member for Bethnal Green remarking on the large colony of Italians, chiefly ice cream vendors and organ grinders, in Hatton Garden, most of whom struggled on the edge of poverty.[342]

Immigration officials later had powers to turn back at entry ports any persons who appeared to have no means of supporting themselves, but the numbers of actual expulsions were relatively few.[343] In 1913, for example, against 21,393 immigrant entrants, only 311 removal orders were made. Of the total entrants, some 13,000, that is around 60 per cent, were headed for London, with Italians among the commonest nationalities. For those entrants destined for Wales, Italians were by far the largest national group, perhaps a reflection of the rising popularity of ices among the youth of the principality.[344]

Poverty and destitution, of course, are traditional breeding grounds for petty crime and disorder, and Italian ice cream vendors seem to have afforded a cardinal example. The pages of *The Times* in the decades up to the First World War are replete with court reports of vendors involved in affrays of one form or another, a few of them with fatal outcomes. They also seem to have had a predilection for running illegal lotteries or for organizing gambling from their street barrows. In June 1904 in London, for instance, a street vendor of Lisson Grove was charged with having 20 or 30 boys around his barrow gambling for ices.[345] Sometimes, though, it was the street urchins themselves who were the culprits of disorder. Mobs of 'roughs' would attack the vendors' barrows and carts, removing and sometimes breaking the freezer lids. Given the increasing public health concerns over ices sold on the streets, it was thus perhaps no wonder that, by the end of the First World War, there was pressure even within the trade to take ice cream off the streets.

---

341 *Ibid.*, 3rd October 1891.
342 *Ibid.*, 30th January 1902.
343 See the account of the parliamentary debate in *The Times*, 24th March 1910.
344 *Ibid.*, 27th April 1914.
345 *Ibid.*, 14th June 1904.

One of the more startling features of the ice vending trade towards the close of the nineteenth century was the floating in 1893 of a company set with the task of acquiring, working and developing a machine for vending ices, in effect a coin-operated apparatus that was refrigerated and filled with ice creams.[346] The Horton Ice Cream Company established in London in 1888 was behind the scheme. The company was already a well-known refreshment contractor, supplying theatres, exhibitions, balls, garden parties, not to mention the shipping lines that frequented London docks. The intention was to install the machines in places of amusement, for example in the pits and galleries of theatres, so that ordinary people could obtain a confection that had hitherto been available only to a restricted few. It was also anticipated that much business might be done on the concourses of railway stations, at race meetings and at holiday resorts. Supplementary to their mechanical ice dispenser, the company also anticipated door-to-door selling of its ice cream in and around London by means of tricycles specially designed for the purpose. It is not apparent how the automatic ice machine fared, if at all. But the fact that it was being contemplated is illustration of the scale of the trade in ices to the population at large at this time.

The size of the ice cream trade by the first decades of the twentieth century became yet more apparent when, in 1917, the wartime government, anxious to conserve the national food supply, especially milk and sugar, issued an order restricting the making of ice cream. All categories of ice cream makers were immediately up in arms about this order since it was potentially destructive of their livelihoods. By that time, London had an association of ice cream manufacturers, and 300 members of the trade attended an emergency meeting in January 1918 at the Italian Club in Saffron Hill. The effect of the order was more or less to annihilate the trade, and members sought to bring pressure on the Ministry of Food to modify its provisions. In this they were supported by many provincial ice cream makers, as well the operators of a great majority of the small ice factories that traditionally supplied them. Between 40 and 60 per cent of the ice output from such plants went into making ices. This included the ice required in the premises

346 *Ibid.*, 25th March 1893.

where ice cream was made, in the shops that sold ice cream, as well as the ice that street vendors needed to fill the freezers on their barrows. Without the sale of ice for these purposes, it was reckoned that many plants would be forced to close down, in the process also losing vital cold storage capacity at a time when it was becoming in desperately short supply.[347]

The armistice late in 1918 plainly signalled hope for a relaxation of wartime restrictions, but not before many ice factories had lost up to three quarters of their custom, according to the editor of the *Cold Storage and Produce Review*, in some cases resulting in enforced closure.[348] In the spring of 1919, though, The Ice Cream Restriction Order was revoked and within a few years the ice cream trade was starting to stage a full recovery. The London firm of J. Lyons & Co. opened a new ice cream plant in West Kensington as early as 1921 and within a year were supplying their 200 or so tea-shops around the capital with ice cream on a regular footing, helped by a fleet of new Leyland motor-vans.[349] By 1923 the company was turning out 12,000 gallons of ice cream per day and already had plans for extending production.[350] The company utilized best American practice in their method of manufacture, producing much of the ice cream in 'bricks' that were retailed in thin card-board boxes at 1/6d each. The plant had the capacity to make 80,000 bricks a day, in addition to its output of more ordinary ice cream. When sold, the bricks were quite hard, softening only very slowly and capable of being cut like a cake, much in the manner of ice cream blocks today.[351]

A number of ice plants around the country were themselves shifting towards the making of ice cream. The economics of ice production on its own, especially in the smaller ice factories, were far too dependent on a bumper summer demand. An investigation for the *Cold Storage and Ice Trades Review* in 1924 revealed graphically the strains under which a small 10 tons a day ice plant operated. For most months of the year, low

347 For accounts of the hardships that the Order presented for the ice trade, see *Cold Storage and Produce Review* XXI (1918), p. 40; pp. 82–3.
348 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
349 *Ibid.*, XXV (1922), pp. 133, 168.
350 *Ibid.*, XXVI (1923), p. 315.
351 *Ibid.*, XXV (1922), p. 133.

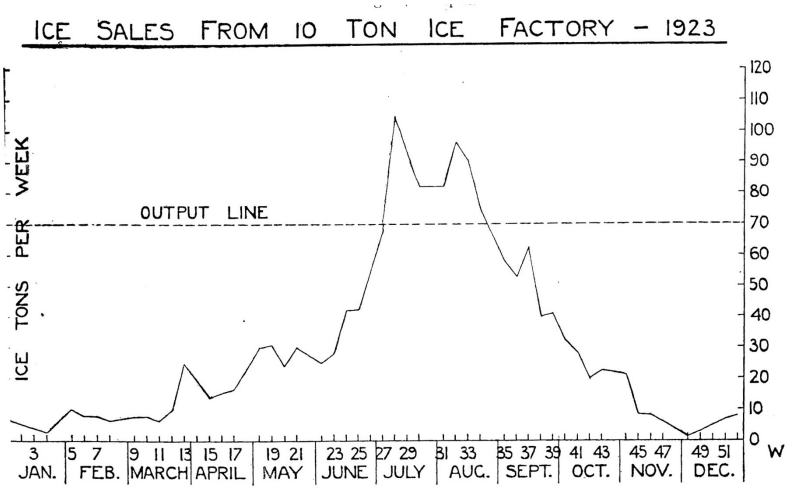


Figure 7.6. The difference between profitable and unprofitable operation for a small ice plant (Bodleian: Per 193998 d.1/XXVII p. 459).

demand left it operating way below capacity, with all that that meant in terms of balancing income and expenditure.[352]

As ice plants added ice cream making to their activities, the result was that ice cream started to become available in places where it had been unknown either before or during the recent war.

In 1921, for example, in the small seaside town of Bognor Regis, an ice-making and cold storage plant had been erected, known by the name of the Antarctic Ice and Cold Storage Company Ltd. By 1926 it had opened its own ice cream saloon selling 'cream ices', 'cream ice bricks' and supplying shops, fêtes and garden parties.[353] In city department stores, American-style soda fountains were being opened as an adjunct to ice cream sales. Selfridges in London had a soda fountain by late 1935 that seated 186 customers.[354] Earlier, in April 1934, the *Cold Storage and Produce Review* had provided its readers with an account of what was then Britain's largest soda fountain: at Lewis's department store in Leeds.[355] Whereas once the premier ice trade journal had carried

352 *Ibid.*, XXVII (1924), p. 459.
353 *Ibid.*, XXIX (1926), p. 231.
354 *Ibid.*, XXXVIII (1935), p. 215.
355 *Ibid.*, XXXVII (1934), p. 99.

Figure 7.7. The premises of the Antarctic Ice and Cold Storage Company in Bognor (Bodleian: Per 193998 d.1/XXIX p. 231).

a monthly column on the state of the natural ice market, it now carried a monthly report of 'ice cream progress', of which the installation of soda fountains was part. It noted how, nationally, ice cream sales in winter had risen such that they fell only 40 per cent below the summer average. Ordinary provincial towns were also sharing in the ice cream industry's growth. In 1929, *The Times* carried an advertisement for the disposal of a flourishing ice cream business at a town in Kent, valued at £1,750. The turnover in season was £150 a week, 'at exceptional profit'. The business included ice-cream plant, motor ice cream barrow, three pony barrows with ponies, freezers, soda fountains and much more.[356]

What had changed to make the ice cream trade so vibrant was the public's attitude to it. It was becoming less and less a mere hot weather trade and more an acquired habit. There was also a steadily growing Americanisation of the trade, in terms of the mode of manufacture as well as the mode of consumption. This was at the expense of the traditional Italian dominance. The day of the tawdry street ice cream barrow was soon sealed, even if descendants of the Italian makers continued to be found selling ice cream for many more decades.

356 *The Times*, 11th April 1929.